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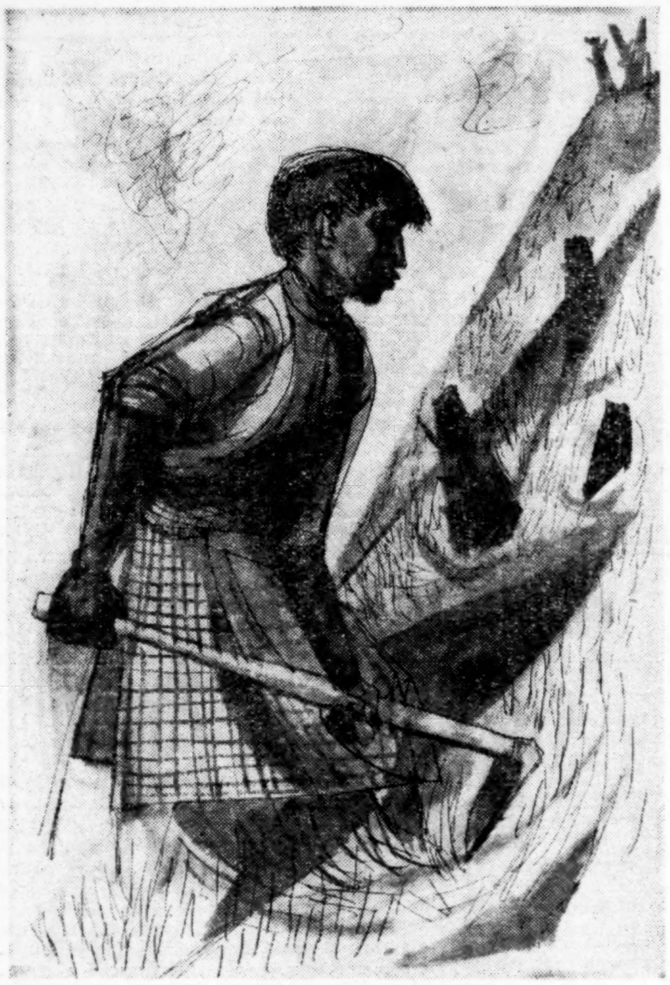


While he awaited his allotment of the flat lowlands which the people's government was distributing, a Guatemalan Indian farmer cleared this steep slope for planting. Anton Refregier, famous American artist, sketched him shortly before the blockade and intervention. For other Guatemala drawings by Refregier see pp. 6 and 7.

STORM OVER 'RIGHT OF ASYLUM'

Fight on progressive U. S. doctors stirs British ire on 'export of McCarthyism'

By Ione Kramer

THE ugly shadow of America's McCarthyism has become too much for Britons in the case of two young American doctors, whom the U. S. and British governments want back in the U. S. and a sizeable proportion of Britons want to keep. The doctors—Joseph H. Cort and his wife Ruth—have become a British "cause celebre" evoking page-one headlines, massive editorials, floods of letters to editors, and heated comment in high places.

For two years while a medical student at Yale, Joseph Cort of Boston as a member of the Assn. of Internees and Medical Students advocated national health insurance. He joined the Communist Party, made no secret of it. His political activity ceased after college. In June, 1951, Dr. Cort—then 23, described as "brilliant"—received a fellowship from Cambridge University in Britain. Checking with his draft board, he was rejected on medical

(Continued on Page 3)

WAR & PEACE

U. S. choice: end 'hate China' racket or lose allies

By Tabitha Petran

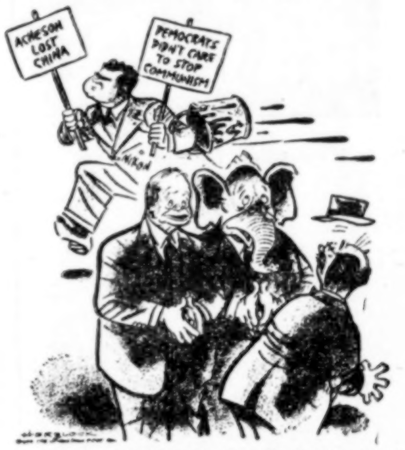
SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL's plea in Washington for "a real good try for peaceful co-existence" with the socialist world provoked still another "great debate," one more "agonizing reappraisal" of U.S. foreign policy. But like all the "debates" and "reappraisals" that have marked successive Washington setbacks in the hot and cold wars, this one questioned neither the war policy nor its premises. Stung by China's success at Geneva, France's withdrawal in Vietnam's Red River Delta, Britain's growing independence, the "re-appraisers" wanted the policy speeded up.

In the Senate, Majority and Minority leaders Knowland and Lyndon Johnson agreed to fight for U.S. withdrawal from UN if China is admitted. No Senator rose in the name of common sense to support the right of Peking—a stable regime which has governed a fourth of the world's population for five years—to UN membership. Even the handful of Senators (Morse, Lehman, Fulbright) who opposed the U.S. withdrawal threat pledged to fight China's admission to UN.

ALL IN FAVOR: The President denied Congress' right to take such a stand. The State Department tended rather to enforce it by backing Congressional action to deny aid to countries making non-aggression treaties with socialist nations in the Far East, and widely advertising its irritation with the French for not informing it of every move.

Vice-President Nixon at Milwaukee (6/26) repeated the "Acheson lost China" version of history (now amended to include Korea and Indo-China), underscored "massive retaliation" (Secy. Dulles' name for preventive atomic war) as the core of U. S. policy. He ridiculed negotiation as "appeasement" and made the issue a GOP rallying cry for the fall elections even before Knowland demanded that China be the No. 1 election question. The President's refusal to repudiate Nixon's speech, and the Republican Natl. Committee's enthusiastic response, underscored Repub-

(Continued on Page 6)


ACHESON LOST CHINA
DEMOCRATS DIDN'T CARE TO STOP COMMUNISM
NIXON

Herblock in Washinton Post

"Ah, yes—isn't that fellow McCarthy terrible?"

A JULY FOURTH EDITORIAL

Stop the Guatemala blood-bath!

ON THE 178TH ANNIVERSARY of the day when the American colonists proclaimed any people's right to overthrow tyranny and establish a government to promote life, liberty and happiness, a noisome, sickening stench pervaded the air of the United States. It came from the direction of our southern border, below which the "heirs" of Thomas Jefferson and John Hancock in Washington had just repudiated them in our name. By holding the little fellow's hands while other thugs beat him into unconsciousness —a technique frowned upon even in the less reputable barrooms—Dulles, Lodge, Peurifoy & Co. had done another job of temporarily putting the clock back.

The government of tiny Guatemala had sought merely to end feudalism and give liberal private-enterprise economy a chance in their country. But what the Founding Fathers of our own country did in 1776 could not be permitted in Guatemala in 1954: it was "communism"; it might slightly reduce the profits of the United Fruit Company in which Dulles and Lodge are personally interested, and which owns virtually everything in Guatemala.

THE STENCH came partly from the corpses of Guatemalan patriots and babies destroyed by bombs or put to death by torture. It was mingled with the rank odor of super-hypocrisy in the U. S. press, which did not omit to reprint the text of the Declaration of Independence in the midst of its lying, sneering, arrogant, "whimsical" reports of the crushing of popular government in our neighbor state.

We have read these same sneers and lies before. The record of the Arbenz government in Guatemala, which has leaned over backward in tolerance to its enemies, is too clear to leave any doubt as to who represents what in this calculated murder. The pattern is too familiar for the truth of what has been done, and what is happening now, not to be writ large for all who will pick up a history book.

THE HOUR IS LATE; but if we are to escape the full consequence of what our country has done in Guatemala, we must raise our voices now. Latin Americans are fond of saying that there are two North Americas—that of the Dulles brothers and that other one, our people. But they cannot forever take that other U. S. A. on faith.

The Guatemalan government was violently overthrown because it dared to show the possibility for Latin Americans to pull themselves out of colonial status by securing capital goods as well as arms for their own defense—something Washington and a United Fruit Co. cannot tolerate. Nor does it take a "communist agitator"—as our press is assuring us it does every day now in a shrill monotone—to tell Guatemalan peasants that their government was overthrown in order that the United Fruit Co. might take back "its" land from them. They already know that. They are fighting and will continue to fight to keep the land, which is all that lies between them and a return to peonage. The program of United Fruit, whose voice it is that speaks through the pharisees in Washington, calls for a blood-bath to enforce its absolute rule. It is in progress now.

THAT OTHER UNITED STATES, the United States of Thomas Jefferson, must demand that the blood-bath shall end now. Our Congressmen, our State Dept., our President must be told that at last the conscience of the United States is aroused; that no longer can our diplomats who openly negotiated the assault and the surrender of Guatemala pretend it is not their concern. It is their doing—and our concern because they are our servants.

Many times before in history, the hangmen once driven out have returned. But as to the future, let Walt Whitman tell it in the lines he wrote after the European revolutions and counter - revolutions of 1848 in **Leaves of Grass:**

. . . But the sweetness of mercy brew'd bitter destruction, and the frightened monarchs come back,
Each comes in state with his train, hangman, priest, taxgatherer,
Soldier, lawyer, lord, jailer, and sycophant.

(Continued on Page 7)

How to overthrow a govt. by force

The scene causing the priest's smile—a Guatemala City fort after bombing by U. S.-made planes—gives some idea of the air power used against defenseless Guatemala.

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THE MAIL BAG

A question to the Times

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have written to the editor of the N. Y. Times drawing his attention to a full-page ad the paper ran on July 4, signed by one John Hancock and a group of friends. It was headed "In Congress, July 4, 1776 --- The unanimous Declaration of the 13 united States of America." It could usefully be drawn to the attention of other editors around the country. They all seem to have missed it, or failed to read it through, in the rush of writing editorials lauding the return of absolute despotism in Guatemala.

De Mortuis

"In the name of Christ"

CHICAGO.

We have sent this letter to our UN delegate Mr. Lodge:

"The fate of little Guatemala concerns us. Now is certainly a wonderful time and opportunity to make good our Good Neighbor policy.

"That the traditional brotherly spirit of our dear U.S.A. may prevail, that our neighbors may love us and not hate us, we urge that you voice and act the strivings of the little people of the Americas for freedom and opportunity for land and jobs and food, in particular that you press for a 'hands off' policy in Guatemala. In the name of the Christ of freedom and love,

Rev. and Mrs. H. H. Hester."

How crazy can you get dept.

[In] the chess matches at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York, . . . the Rooskies have triumphed over their American opponents. This should be no great surprise to anybody. . . . The object of a chess game is something called a "checkmate," which means etymologically "death of the king.". . . The American player is inclined to envisage the opposing king in the dim and nowadays not altogether unamiable character of George III; but the Russian is able to visualize him vividly as a kind of Stalin or Malenkov and therefore to put his whole heart into the pleasure of destroying him.

. Washington **Post-Times-Herald** June 27.

One-year sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Marcus Goldman, Alexandria, Va.

Yes, it's possible

BURBANK, CALIF.

Is it possible Sen. Lodge is qualifying for the "Ananias Club?" At the Security Council he roundly denounced the Soviet representative for expressing the "unheard-of" idea that U.S. Senators "allow their official actions to be determined in accordance with their private financial interests." In short, if any government harbored for a moment the distressing idea that the interest of the United Fruit Co. had the slightest weight in our government's action in respect to Guatemala, then, for such base suspicion, the "wisdom, good intent, and sincerity of every decision or policy which that government makes today" is put in grave doubt!

These are fine-sounding words. But, in point of fact, what government isn't cognizant of the relation of private interests to votes in America? What of Tom Platt, Boise Penrose Bailey (of Texas), of Foraker, Aldrich, Thomas (of Oklahoma), of Roscoe Conkling, Albert Fall (of Teapot Dome), Mark Hanna, Thomas Quay, and of our own California Knowland and his connection with the China Lobby? Did these men ignore private financial interest for public good?

Lodge should be dismissed. The American people deserve a delegate at UN whose words ring true.

Frances D. Manning

Sensible sixteen

STOCKTON, CALIF.

Enclosed you will find $3 for my sub. I am very sorry for being a little late. I am just a young fellow of 16 and went to work after school just a week ago and tried very hard to save $3 because I could not miss the GUARDIAN.

V. C.

The funny word

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

"Democracy," a funny word!
On every side its sound is heard.
Hondurans thought it meant for real
Until they felt Old England's steel.

"Democracy," the headlines shout!
The Guatemalans tried it out.
Then silver bullets, few of lead
Showed them their liberty was dead.

Democracy! Elections Free!
Is what we want the Reds to see.
They've seen them twice in Fifty Four
Annulled by bribery and war.

Democracy, in thy good name
Foul deeds are done to our great shame.
Those "Free Elections" we so prize
Are 'free' if WE get all the ayes.

Veni Vidi

That tolling bell

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Again Churchill coined an eloquent phrase when at his Washington press conference, June 28, he said another world war "would leave us victorious on a heap of ruins."

On Oct. 27, 1951 **Collier's**, in its special issue titled "The War We Do Not Want," confidently predicted victory over Russia which country would have been laid waste never able to recover. Yet in **The Nation** (11/10/51) D. F. Flaming pointed out that "wars do not always go according to **Collier's**. . . . Every intelligent inhabitant of Western Europe knows, in the marrow of his bones, that a third world war will finish his country—its people, its cities, its future. Two world wars have toppled the region frmo a position of world ascendancy to one of weakness and dependence. Another must complete the destruction." The article closed with these words: "The bell does not toll alone for the men in the Kremlin. It tolls for all of us."

Still the foreign-policy and opinion makers of his country cling to the insane obsession of provoking a third world war. All humane sentiments have gone out of their frozen hearts and petrified conciences.

A. Garcia Diaz

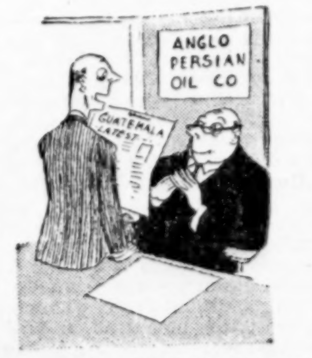
A new party

MARTINS FERRY, O.

Since 1948, I have advocated the organization of a new, not a "third," party. Let those who are highly dissatisfied with the activities of the present Republicrat Party organize and compose this new third party, drawing into its ranks the multitude of members of numerous "splinter parties."

We are facing precisely the situation our forebears faced exactly 100 years ago when a new party was formed and elected its first successful presidential candidate, an "uncouth, unlettered, ignorant, unrefined, uncultured, and homely backwoods railsplitter who never went to school."

George F. Curry



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Surely it would be rather a grateful gesture if we were to offer the American Fruit Company our disinterested assistance in negotiating a settlement?"

Maury Maverick's last letter

MONGOMERY CREEK, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN (5/17) quoted Maury Maverick's [late New Deal Congressman of Texas] devastating comment on the defenders of Dienbienphu and the defenders of the Alamo. On the kitchen table here I had a copy of Anna Louise Strong's **Today** with the true story of Indo-China; on the spur of the moment I mailed it to Maverick. It found him flat on his back in the hospital. He was so grateful he wrote me a wonderful letter with a shaky hand:

HERE LIES A FRIEND OF THE COMMON MAN

"In hospital: heart attack. It was close but things seem a little better. A lady is broadcasting in cute tones. She's a Hollywood lady and is gushing over Vice-Pres. Nixon.

"Besides my heart, my belly aches. Thanks very much for your letter. I read Miss Strong's letter with great interest. It was quite welcome here! In the hospital last night I had listened to one half hour of our President's dull platitudes.

"What is impossible now is to figure our reasoning approximately. As Miss Strong says, we would not care for Mexico to have Russian or Chinese air bases and thousands of Russian or Chinese technicians. Yet it seems we are about to send our boys to Indo-China. Where are they to land? Where will they operate in a land infiltrated by anti-American forces, and with Asians who are all 100% anti-American?

"We all refuse to think! We refuse to see the world has moved as much as the Church would not let Galileo say it because it affected doctrine and income.

"In the, Civil War 1863 our Texas Supreme Court held the United States were merciless destroyers of children and people of old age--that no agreement could ever be made with this old U.S.A. I mention this because we must negotiate in spite of all those who say we should not.

"What little influence I have will be for negotiation with open eyes.

"Most sincerely,
"Maury Maverick."

A few hours later Maverick was dead. It was his last letter. I do not believe his family would object if you published what he wrote. Long after "the Senator from Formosa" is dead, buried and forgotten, the memory of Maury Maverick will live on in the hearts of all who love liberty and justice.

John Hoffman

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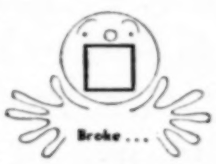
REPORT TO READERS

'. . . the apathetic throng'

IN A LETTER to a recent batch of unrenewed subscribers, we hazarded a statistical guess on the whys of the matter. In the conviction that most delayed renewals result from apathy, some from lack of funds, and perhaps about 2% from disagreement, our letter gave recipients the opportunity to say which, simply by marking an X in one of the three animated boxes:

Apathy . . .

SURE ENOUGH, most of the replies came back with "Apathy" checked off as the reason and conscientious notes such as ". . . here's $3 for the renewal and $2 more for keeping you waiting." When the last of the great muck-raking journalists, George Seldes, ceased publication of **In Fact** in 1950 after ten years of ups and downs, he declared apathy of American liberals to be the bane of progressive publications. If apathy is your problem, why not start your cure today by renewing your GUARDIAN sub? You can tell how long you have been apathetic by the date on your address-plate if it is printed in red ink on Page 1 or on your subscription wrapper.



Broke . . .

FINANCIAL EMBARRASSMENT was widespread, but few wanted to be counted out. Many asked to receive a bill, promising faithfully to pay at the very earliest, hoping the sub wouldn't be cut off. One respondent crossed out the "Broke" symbol and wrote instead: ". . . not broke, but badly bent. Getting straightened out. Here's renewal and something extra for the pot."

I object . . .

WE HOPED the disagreers would leap at the chance to take a postage-paid poke at us for failing to be madly for Adlai or not seeing the brighter side of Bao Dai. Out of a baker's dozen who marked the "I object" box nobody got specific except a young woman in Chicago who got the paper at her union and objected to getting it at home too; then on the same page she changed her mind and renewed anyway, on the theory that thus "the truth will be **twice** as good."

WE'D GLADLY SETTLE for a whole hatful of objections (preferably with a built-in change of heart like the above) than for no answer at all to our varied if not always artful renewal reminders. The poet who said "Mourn not the dead . . . but rather mourn the apathetic throng" was not a member of the GUARDIAN Subscription Dept., but if he had been, he might have been inspired to pen precisely the same dispirited lines.

We could of course be wrong, but the only way this can be proved is by the prompt receipt of your subscription renewal.

—THE EDITORS

The butter madness

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

A UP story from Washington June 25 says that the government "has offered to sell surplus butter to overseas customers from 39 and 41c a lb., 19 to 27c cheaper than the American housewife pays."

How crazy can we get? We Americans can hardly afford the price of margarine.

Nina Hammer

Last spring the U.S.S.R. offered to pay between 46 and 50c a lb. for U.S. surplus butter. It was turned down. Ed.

Memo to PP pioneers

EVANSTON, ILL.

I have finished Vol. 1 of my detailed **History of the Progressive Party of 1948**, but still am "in the market" for additional bits of information and, especially, pictures, related to the period it covers:, that before 1948 proper, the build-up period. Since I already am at work on Vol. II, to cover 1948, I would appreciate hearing from any GUARDIAN readers with records, clippings, anecdotes, suggestions, etc.

Curtis D. MacDougall
337 Judson Av.

A minister tells why

MAIDSTONE, SASK., CANADA

I am a Minister of the United Church of Canada, and would like to state why I can full-heartedly support your paper. It provides a "second side" to the political, economic and social reporting of the U.S. press today. This is a valuable asset for myself, and for all who get your paper who have the same idea of trying to understand what's going on, by looking at both sides.

The fact that more and more conforming pressure is being exerted on the thinking, attitudes and conduct of Americans today makes it inevitable that the voice of the GUARDIAN will become more and more a "thorn in the flesh"—those who want only a single interpretation of events will sooner or later do their best to squelch you. Believing in the necessity of keeping the press free, and realizing that the loss of a voice like yours would seriously jeopardize that freedom, I can full-heartedly give financial support to your paper—and hope that enough others do so to guarantee its continuance.

Rev. J. O. Walmsley

A lack of God

HUDSON, MASS.

I find your newspaper interesting. However, I find a lack of Almighty God on every page. Don't you realize He has supreme dominion over all things?

Jerry O'Neil

SHOULD GERMANY BE REARMED?

Hoary arguments for giving guns back to bandits --- & the answers

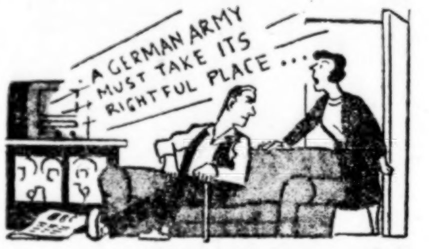
By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian special correspondent

LONDON

WHAT lies behind the hysterical campaign here to swing public opinion behind W. German rearmament? Why should the British Broadcasting Co., in its "impartial" two-hour program on the European Defense Community June 18, throw overboard even the semblance of impartiality? (The BBC has been deluged with criticism of the program, with sharp questions asked even in the tory **Daily Telegraph.**) Why has the Labour Party Executive's right wing brought into action the whole machinery of the party, not for a free and public discussion, but to put over in private a one-sided case in time to influence the voting at the party and Trades Union Congress conferences in September?

The aim cannot be to change British policy, for the German rearmament treaties are already accepted. The campaign is a deeper one—to prevent the whole cold-war policy collapsing. Those who support the cold war, piling-up of arms and division of the world know that rejection of German rearmament by the Labour, Co-Operative and trade union movements would be followed by overwhelming demand for a new policy of East-West conciliation. That is why all the old discredited cold-war arguments are being brought out again.

OLD BROMIDES: One of the hoariest arguments came from Liberal journalist Vernon Bartlett in introducing the BBC program in the **Radio Times**: that division of the world originated when Russia refused Marshall aid which was offered equally to socialist and capitalist states. Who can believe that today when, in Europe, the Far East and Latin America, we have seen Washington using economic pressure to prevent any form of social change which the State Dept. might call "communism"?


A GERMAN ARMY MUST TAKE ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE . . .

Drawing by Gabriel, London

"Good heavens, I thought for a moment it was Lord Haw Haw!"

William Pickles (Labour), in a talk on "The Inevitability of German Rearmament" which **The Listener** front-paged June 17, gave as his reasons:

> 1. Russia would not disarm after the war; 2. Russia began rearming E. Germany; 3. A "satellite" actually started an aggressive war in Korea.

None of these statements will stand the light of facts. Russia began switching over her industries from war to peace even before the final victory over Germany and Japan. James Forrestal's diary gives proof that U. S. war industry, as early as Oct., 1946, was keeping itself going by imposing arms programs on Latin American states. At international conferences the U. S. S. R. has made increasingly reasonable proposals for all-round disarming and for international machinery to see agreements are kept. If Russia had not cut down its arms program, obviously its remarkable peace-time recovery could not have been achieved.

WHO ARMED WHOM? On the now most popular argument that Russia began rearming E. Germany, I quoted in my 1951 pamphlet **German Re-armament Leads to War** reports from the Western press on the formation of an armed police force in W. Germany—and open admission that it was made up of SS men. Coupled with W. German leaders' violent threats against E. Germany, this made strengthening of the E. German police force inevitable.

The claim that the existence of an armed E. German police force justifies creation of 12 armored divisions in the West completely ignores E. Germany's offer to carry out a joint inspection in both republics to test the strength of the two police forces. Molotov repeated this offer at the Berlin conference; the West refused even to consider it. When Eden was later questioned in Commons, he justified his attitude on the ground that W. Germany's Adenauer refused to meet E. German representatives.

The late Hans Kahle—a member of the International Brigade's Thaelmann Divn., and an anti-Nazi refugee in Britain during the war—who was People's Police chief in Mecklenburg, told me back in 1948 of the care E. Germany has taken to select anti-Nazis for the police. Which is more likely to threaten peace: a police force of men who willingly served Hitler and still boast of it, or a force pledged to oppose fascism?

KOREA & SO FORTH: The argument that we must arm Nazi generals because N. Korea attacked S. Korea is pretty threadbare in light of what has emerged as to the origins of the Korean War, and Syngman Rhee's continuing, open thirst for warlike "solutions." Bartlett seeks to support his case by saying the Russians control 255 divisions "all ready to invade Europe." But if they have all these divisions, why would they provoke the West by rearming a comparative handful of E. Germans?

The most terrible argument, heard at the General & Municipal Workers' recent conference, is that Germany must be made to rearm because otherwise it will be too powerful a competitor in world markets. The fact is forgotten that in Dec., 1947, the West broke off the London Foreign Ministers' Conference rather than discuss a Russian proposal that Germany pay reparations in goods of peace to countries it had devastated.

MUNICH AGAIN? Neither the BBC program, nor the Labour Party, even tried to answer the real case against rearming Germany: that the men in power in W. Germany are threatening aggression and a war of revenge. Years ago Walter Lippmann warned that a W. German army would lead the West into war against Poland and Russia. Lord Beaverbrook's **Evening Standard** last month drew attention to the demands raised in Munich in 1939 for the return to Germany of the Sudeten area in Czechoslovakia, and warned that

> ". . . an armed W. Germany in EDC might drag the whole of the Alliance into a war of their own choosing and their own making."

W. German leaders, far from repudiating this propaganda, encourage it. They threaten a new war of revenge, and we are asked to give them arms. The Labour Party Executive calls this a "German contribution to the collective security of the West for Peace."

To support such a policy, the facts must be hidden. For when they are known, it becomes clear that the policy leads not to peace but to war.

Dr. & Mrs. Cort

(Continued from Page 1)

grounds. (His Army medical record showed "after effects of polio," "marked myopia," "residual tuberculosis" and a "dangerous allergy" which means standard Army wound injections would be fatal to him.) He supplied the New Haven (Conn.) draft board with his British address, and with his wife went to England on a valid passport to do his research, believing he would not get a draft call for two years.

In the fall and winter of 1951, he received from the U. S. Embassy in London three notices to give up his passport and return home. No reason was given, but he should sign an "affidavit," about what or for whom not stated.

BROOMSTICKS, INC.: In April, 1953, when the Un-American Activities Committee was investigating U. S. universities, several of Cort's classmates were asked about his membership in a "secret cell." All refused to answer; all but one has lost his job. A few weeks before the hearings began, Cort had received an order to appear before his U. S. draft board for re-examination and induction. His lawyer told him no legally binding notice could be served while abroad, so he ignored it.

Last December the U. S. Embassy informed Cort, now a lecturer in physiology at the Univ. of Birmingham, that he had violated U. S. law in leaving without his draft board's permission; in refusing to obey legally binding draft orders; in leaving the U. S. to evade the draft—and that he would lose his citizenship under the McCarran Act.

After he was "named," offers of assistant professorships at Harvard, Cornell and New York were withdrawn.

"CLEAR PERSECUTION": Cort asked political asylum, wanting only "to settle down quietly . . . and continue my scientific work." He expressed willingness to serve in the British army. But in March, 1954, the British Home Office declined to renew residence permits for Cort and his wife, 28, a house physician at Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham, when they expired June 30. Permits had been previously renewed in 1951 and 1952.

DOCTORS JOSEPH AND RUTH CORT
"A most disturbing incident"

When Labour MP Anthony Wedgwood Benn asked political asylum for Cort, Home Secy. Sir David Maxwell Fyfe said it was a "dangerous precedent," considered only when life was endangered. The Natl. Council of Civil Liberties saw the case as clear "political persecution," and the Home Office policy "in complete contrast to this country's whole tradition of granting political asylum" (the right to asylum under Anglo-Saxon law predates Magna Charta.) A letter to the London **Times** (6/16), referring to the asylum granted Karl Marx a century ago, said:

> "Since long before Karl Marx studied in the British Museum the admission of political refugees to Britain has implied not approval of their particular brand of politics but a simple welcome for men unable to carry on their work in their own countries. . . ."

THE LONG ARM: Birmingham's Lord Mayor saw it as "a most disturbing incident," urged the country's right to grant political asylum be guarded. The Birmingham Trades Council, representing most unions in Britain's greatest industrial area, "deplored most strongly" the Home Secy.'s "undemocratic action." Said BTC secy. Harry Baker:

> "The long arm of McCarthyism should not be allowed to stretch out into this country. . . . People who came to this country from Eastern Europe, saying that they had been persecuted, were welcomed as having escaped to freedom. Why should we not do the same with people from the West?"

On June 26, Baker "on behalf of 150,000 trade unionists" cabled to the U. S.'s guests Churchill and Eden, urging the Cort decision be revoked. Birmingham's city council members signed petitions in Cort's behalf circulated by the trades council and Assn. of Scientific Workers. Two delegations of MP's urged Sir David to reconsider. The Labour Party, with leader Clement Attlee's blessing, was seeking a full-scale Parliamentary debate.

Questioned in Commons, Sir David was obliged to change his reasons for asylum to "danger to life and liberty." The issue of whether there was "liberty" in the U. S. was still to be decided.

BOON WITHOUT BOUNDARY: The London **Times** commented that there was no reason for refusing political asylum to subjects of a country with which "close and friendly relations" exist: "There can be no geographical boundary or bias upon this boon." The Labourite **New Statesman** said:

> "There are today in Europe some hundreds of Americans who prefer voluntary exile. Many of these, who may properly be called political refugees, are now without passports. . . . American law today in some cases gives the government the terrible power of withdrawing any responsibilities and protection of citizenship —the medieval penalty of outlawry long abandoned here, and in modern times assumed, we believe, only by Communist and Fascist governments. . . . The reason for [the Home Office's action] is, clearly enough, the panic into which the McCarran Act has thrown the Home Office, which is willing to grant asylum to persons deprived of their nationality from countries behind the Iron Curtain, because it assumes they will be anti-Communist, while it is needlessly scared that England may be flooded by stateless Communists from other parts of the 'free world.' ".

BRITISH "REVULSION": The Liberal **News Chronicle** offered this advice to the American authorities:

> "The toleration of McCarthyism in the U. S. has now produced such revulsion in this country that the suspicion that such a man as Dr. Cort is destined for political victimization will readily occur, and will be enough to mobilize opinion on his side. Much damage to the American good name has been done, and much more will be done in the future unless faith in a free and fair America can be restored."

On June 30, the day they had been scheduled to leave England, the Corts received a 30-day stay to settle "personal affairs," possibly make arrangements to go to Israel. Said MP Wedgwood Benn:

> "I hope when these two young people go away . . . they will quickly forget the shameful action of the Home Secy. and only 'remember the warm-hearted response of millions of people to this human tragedy."

'Strange friendship' of steelworkers' leader and tycoon bears bitter fruit on strike eve

STEELWORKERS are in trouble. The industry is producing at only 70% capacity; of the CIO United Steelworkers' 1,200,000 members in the U. S., nearly 200,000 are jobless, 257,000 work less than 40 hours a week. To meet its members' needs, the union presented U. S. Steel, pattern-setter for the industry, with a whopping package of demands: it wanted a "substantial" pay boost, retirement pensions up to $185 a month, an improved insurance program financed wholly by the company (employes now share half the cost), a guaranteed annual wage, two additional holidays with pay, longer vacations, a full union shop. If employment doesn't improve, the union seeks a six-hour day with eight hours' pay.

On June 29, one day before contract-expiration with a strike looming, the union settled for the barest minimum of what it had originally asked.

THE STATESMEN: The company granted a 5c-an-hour increase, but 2c of this goes into improvements in the insurance plan, which remains on an equal-share basis. Pensions were boosted from $100 a month after 25 years' service to $140 after 30 years. The gains were just enough to permit Steelworkers pres. David J. McDonald to save face in his intra-union feud with Walter Reuther, pres. of both the CIO and its United Auto Workers. McDonald can now say that he wasn't forced to accept less than Reuther has gained for his auto workers. For the steelworkers, the improvements won't make any great dent against current living costs, a short week, or total unemployment.

But with a strike averted, editorial writers hailed both McDonald and U. S. Steel chairman Benjamin F. Fairless as great labor and economic statesmen; largely overlooked was the immediate prediction that the price of steel would go up. On July 2 the prediction was confirmed when U. S. Steel officially announced a price boost of $3 a ton.

BROTHERS FOR EFFICIENCY: Most other major steel companies promptly signed contracts with the union on the basis of the U. S. Steel settlement, which is estimated at a total of about 9c an hour. This figure will now be used as a sort of base rate in negotiations in most basic industries, but many unions are expected to seek more. Lumber workers in the Pacific Northwest have already rejected a straight 5c raise (which the steel union settled for) and 100,000 of them are now on strike for a 12½c boost.

In the steel settlement no one could explain the effect on the final result of the strange friendship between McDonald and Fairless; the two through the fall made pilgrimages together to all U. S. Steel plants in a highly-publicized show of labor-management harmony. The N. Y. **Times** reported (7/1):

> "One by-product of the new pact was a decision by U. S. Steel and the union to hold quarterly meetings to discuss mutual problems unrelated to wages or day-to-day grievances. One aim of the meetings will be joint exploration of ways to cut production costs, increase efficiency and promote the security of the company and its workers."

●

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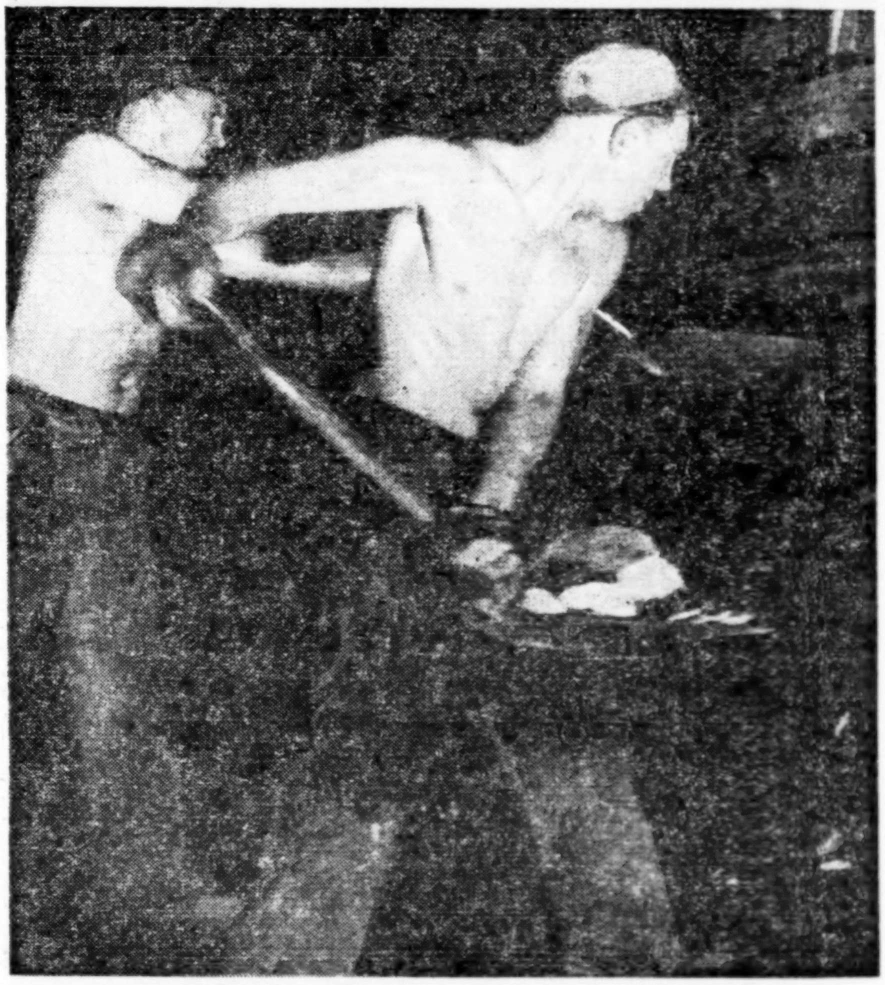


MAKING STEEL HAS ALWAYS BEEN ROUGH
This was in the old days; now machines have the jobs

This is Pittsburgh — the Iron City of speed-up and fear

By Amy Schechter

PITTSBURGH

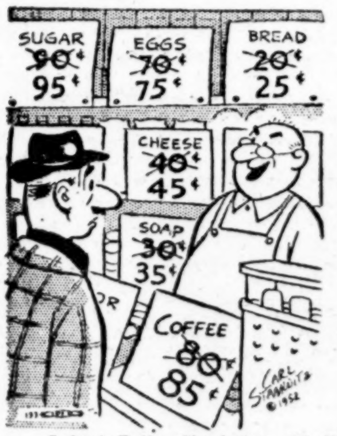
WHEN the Fairless-McDonald love-feast was at its height, a paper put out by the local in a U. S. Steel mill in a town up the Monongehela River from Pittsburgh duly reported the visit of the pair to their plant; but a mill columnist wrote: "Two hoped-for realizations: Peace and Harmony between the Union and management of U. S. Steel, and the Pirates to win a pennant." And added more soberly:

> "Is management conditioning the Union for a rebuff on its demands that will be presented soon, especially the Guaranteed Annual Wage?"

Ideas of the sort are widespread around Pittsburgh these mornings after. To steelworkers the immense new super-mechanized Fairless steel plant on the Delaware River is a personal nightmare. They watch every new record made by its fabulous equipment in departments corresponding to their own as one watches the moves of a dangerous enemy. It is the symbol of what threatens them, as mass unemployment and unprecedented speedup are combined with the colossal government-underwritten war-geared program of expansion and modernization.

MODERN TIMES: This program has already—since World War II—raised the steel industry's annual capacity 35%, from 94 million tons to over 124 million tons, with the greater part of the 5.6 billion cost written off as tax-free through "certificates of necessity" while many plants, machines and men become obsolete. Management in the old Pittsburgh mills has used the threat to force men to break one national and world production after another—including a department in the U. S. Steel plant at Duquesne, where 3,000 out of 6,000 men have been laid off. The men have fought back against this—and crew-cutting, rate-cutting incentive system and seniority violations—by hour, day, 2-3 week wildcat strikes.

Tied in is the demand of scores of locals in the district for the six-hour day with no cut in pay, tremendously applauded at the Pennsylvaia State CIO Convention last spring where the majority were steel delegates, and not even brought up as a demand in the negotiations just ended.



Labor's Daily, Charleston (W. Va.)

"I was glad to hear that your Union just won you a 5c raise!"

MORE STEEL, MORE SORROW: In this Iron City at the heart of the area with the greatest concentration of heavy industry in the capitalist world, 69% of capital invested in 1951 was in various metal industries, and 52% of the wage-earners. Steel companies proclaimed last year the greatest production year in history, with U. S. Steel smashing all-time records for production, sales, shipments.

But six months after the year's end Pittsburgh is on the government list of distressed cities. And even while its streets were still deep in snow last winter, the Pittsburgh **Press** was noting that government surplus food had been requested for "an unestimated number of members of the railroad brotherhoods and the CIO United Steelworkers in Allegheny Co. [where Pittsburgh is located] laid off during shutdowns."

RATS AND MORTGAGES: Pittsburgh has a magnificence of its own—and some of the country's worst slums. On the Southside, houses lurch at the edges of steep, rat-infested inclines; the lower Hill District is a ghetto where thousands of Negro steelworkers, railroaders, construction workers, riverboat men and others are crowded. Some of the Hill District streets are still unpaved; and you can sit in a clean-scrubbed flat on the Hill where the rats in the walls almost drown out talk.

In the 17 years since the industry was organized, many steelworkers have been able to work their way out of slums and semi-slums. Some now live in good solid homes in outlying parts; some, especially vets, are buying houses in the new settlements built up in recent years off the roads to the steel towns. And many are due to lose them.

The steeltown is after all a part of one-story America. People there live in houses. Memories remain of the use of evictions as a violent anti-labor weapon in years when companies ruled their towns like occupied enemy territory; so men in steel have often gone hungry in order to own even the worst kind of shack as their home. The Progressive Party of W. Pennsylvania has for months been demanding a moratorium on mortgage payments, as well as on cars and appliances. This demand is also supported by New-Deal Democrat Congressman Eberharter who represents a Pittsburgh workers' district—and against whom stoolpigeon Matt Cvetic, fingerman against scores of active unionists in steel and other industries, has announced he will run on the Republican ticket, on a simple platform of hate.

BAD TIMES: Only by overtime up to 12 hours, 6 or 7 days a week, have a big percentage of steelworkers been able to make payments on heavy appliances and cars. (Fare to a mill not as far from Pittsburgh as the Bronx is from downtown New York is 35c and up, the minimum 20c.) Even a five-day week on straight time makes it a strain to keep up payments. A steel union study in 1946 of Braddock, typical steeltown near Pittsburgh, found savings almost non-existent; this remains true today. Things are especially bad for the Negro workers with low seniority—most of them, in spite of FEPC, are still kept in the seven lowest of 32 job classifications—and for the young workers, short on seniority.

Bad times are something new for most of the young steelworkers, who came into an organized industry operating at 100% or over during recent years. But they are learning fast; and indications are that they may prove a revitalizing element in locals where now often only a couple of hundred out of several thousand in a mill attend meetings.

STRATEGY OF FEAR: A strong and militant union is needed to protect the men in steel, and to survive. At this time the steelmasters cannot revert to the quasi-military rule of days before the plants were organized in 1937; but they can use the McCarthy strategy of division and red-baiting terror—and have used it to a degree perhaps unparalleled elsewhere in the land.

As to the effect of the campaign of fear in the steel mill where he had worked, a Negro worker said:

> "In my crew, out of 32 there were only eight Negroes; but if you attacked one you attacked all. They would just as lief walk out of the mill—if you were right.
>
> "But they did a job on them. They pounded into the guys that Negro-white unity was a subversive thing. They were good guys, good unionists—but they throwed fear into them of progressive guys. The guys had cars, TV's, for a while they'd pretty well keep their mouths shut."

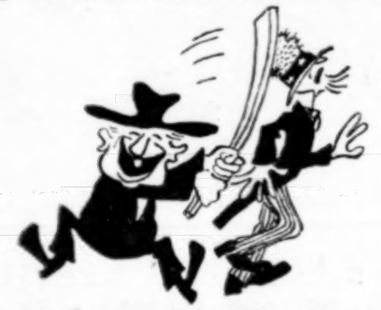
Since things have been getting so tough, he said, they begin to see how they have been sold; the fear is leaving them; they'll speak to him, a known progressive, in a friendly way now when they see him. The same things seems to be happening to a greater or lesser degree—and the will to stand up for their rights reviving—all through the Pittsburgh steeltowns.

THE DEADLY PERIL OF THE BROWNELL BILLS

Blitz move cuts off Langer hearings; police-state 'package' rushed to Senate

By Lawrence Emery

LAST week Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. achieved a surprisingly sudden coup which, unless blocked in limited time remaining, means the beginning of the end of a free trade union movement in this country—and with it the end of all freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. The time-table of events underlines the vigorous determination of the Eisenhower Administration to enact police-state laws before this session of Congress adjourns at the end of this month.



On July 1 Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, announced on the Senate floor that a subcommittee would begin public hearings July 8 on a package of repressive measures proposed by Brownell, among them bills authorizing government liquidation of "Communist-infiltrated" labor unions and other organizations, and establishing a massive government blacklist in most U.S. industry. Said Langer:

> "Persons interested in appearing and testifying on any of these bills should communicate with the committee."

"NO STOPPING IT": But on July 6 the Langer committee met in closed executive session; according to **Federated Press**, Brownell attended the meeting and exerted the maximum weight of Administration pressure. The action that followed was the stunner: the committee approved and reported out to the Senate floor a catch-all anti-labor bill incorporating most of the worst features of all such bills introduced in this Congress.

According to Senate schedule, the measure was to be formally reported on July 7, would go on the calendar the following week and could be called up for floor action at any time. The hearings set by Langer for July 8 were announced postponed indefinitely. Said Langer of the sudden, surprising action:

"Hell, there was no stopping it."

THE OMINOUS PACKAGE: All members of the committee, Langer said, voted for the move except himself and Sen. John M. Butler (R-Md.); they passed and didn't vote for or against. He described the new bill:

> "They have taken the Goldwater bill, the Butler bill and the Brownell package, along with the McCarran bill, and put them into one omnibus measure and reported it out."

Langer told **FP**:

> "I wanted extensive hearings, particularly since all of organized labor has spoken out against similar bills in the House. But the committee majority insisted that enough hearings already had been held."

As for the measure reported out, he said:

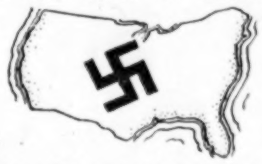
> "There's no use in holding hearings after the bills have been approved and sent to the Senate floor."

"ARE, WERE, IS OR HAS": Under the bill now before the Senate, the Subversive Activities Control Board, upon petition by the Atty. General, could examine any union and, finding it "Communist-infiltrated," deny it collective bargaining rights under the Natl. Labor Relations Board—a step that would put it out of existence as effectively as Brownell's original proposal to order its immediate liquidation.

This is the broad and sweeping language of the measure under which any trade union out of Administration favor could be trapped: an "infiltrated" organization is held to be one which

> "(A) is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by an individual or individuals who are, or who within five years have been actively engaged in, giving aid or support to a Communist action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement and
>
> "(B) is serving, or within five years has served, as a means for (1) the giving of aid or support to any such organization, government, or movement, or (2) the impairment of the military strength of the U. S. or its industrial capacity to furnish logistical or other material support required by the armed forces."

THE 11th HOUR: Hearings on the original Brownell bills before a House Judiciary subcommittee were ended peremptorily on June 30 by Rep. Louis E. Graham (R-Pa.) after only about four hours of testimony against them. Both the CIO and AFL appeared in opposition, but the AFL spokesman was not allowed to take the stand in person and had to submit his testimony in writing for the record. Except for some independent unions, notably the United Electrical Workers, labor had responded to the threat of this legislation belatedly and with little vigor.



The job now: write, wire, phone, visit your Congressmen and Senators. Get as many voices raised in as many ways as possible. Time is running out.

GE wins NLRB election over UE

IN 1951 the United Electrical Workers Union won a Natl. Labor Relations Board election at the huge General Electric Co. plant at Schenectady, N. Y., by a vote of 11,542 to 4,851 for its rival union, the CIO-IUE. Since then GE, with co-operation of the NLRB and of Sen. Joe McCarthy, has been chipping away at the independent union. After a series of McCarthy "investigations," the company worked out a formula for dismissal of any worker refusing to answer committee questions.

With the pressure of this stepped-up red-baiting, the CIO-IUE increased its raiding activities against UE; last March a secessionist move from UE to IUE was led by Leo Jandreau, long-time UE business agent of Local 301. By June the NLRB stepped in and ordered elections in the plant even though UE's contract with the company extended through April 1, 1955.

GE WINS: The elections were held June 30, gave the CIO-IUE 9,005 votes to 5,179 for the old UE. More than 5,000 eligible voters stayed away from the polls. In the current issue of its official organ, **UE News**, the union asserts:

> "The General Electric Co. won the election. It had the co-operation of the Taft-Hartley Board, McCarthy and the sell-out leadership of the Jandreau clique and [James] Carey [head of CIO-IUE]. They accomplished this through intimidation, the Cordiner-McCarthy blacklist of GE workers and a campaign of red-baiting. They have temporarily succeeded in depriving the Schenectady workers of the UE contract and thereby jeopardizing the gains that UE has made for them."

For the future, UE pledged

> ". . . with our 5,200 supporters in the plant [to] continue to work with all GE workers to preserve our conditions. We will fight jointly with all GE workers to save our jobs, to protect our plant-wide seniority, to preserve our rates of pay and all other contract gains made by UE in the past 18 years. UE Local 301 will continue to function in Schenectady and will during the next 12 months help GE workers guard their hard-won gains. At the end of 12 months UE Local 301 will petition for another NLRB election to bring UE Local 301 back as the bargaining agent for all Schenectady workers."

TAKE THE BALL, JIM: In current negotiations GE has made an offer of a 5c-an-hour wage increase, described by both unions as "totally inadequate." Last week CIO-IUE leaders were talking with GE management. UE listed the promises IUE has made, commented:

> "The Schenectady workers will expect Carey and Jandreau to live up to their promises. They have the ball; now is the time for them to deliver on their promises.."

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Tiny man

By Nathaniel Gubbins

(The British humorist)

(Asked if the hydrogen bomb might start a chain of reactions which would destroy the earth, Prof. Urey, the atomic scientist, said: "Possible, but not probable. But I see no cause for alarm. After all, the earth is only a tiny planet in a vast universe.")

Only a tiny man you are in a forest of tiny trees;
Or a man on a tiny mountain top enclosed by tiny seas.
And nobody out in the hemisphere, if anyone lives so far,
Would turn a hair, or trouble to stare, if your miniature earth so full of care
Turned into a falling star.

Only a tiny man you are; in a tiny city dwell,
With millions of other tiny men, trapped in a tiny hell.
But those who dwell, if dwell they do, in worlds beyond the sun
Will shed no tear, if a flash and a smear tell all who watch in the hemisphere
Your tiny race is run.

Only a tiny man you are, you and your tiny wife,
In your tiny house in a tiny town, living your tiny life.
And none who live in the larger land behind the Milky Way
Will feel a pang or care a hang, or turn a head at the tiny bang
That ends your tiny day.

—From the Vancouver, B.C., Sun.

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The second "Venture"

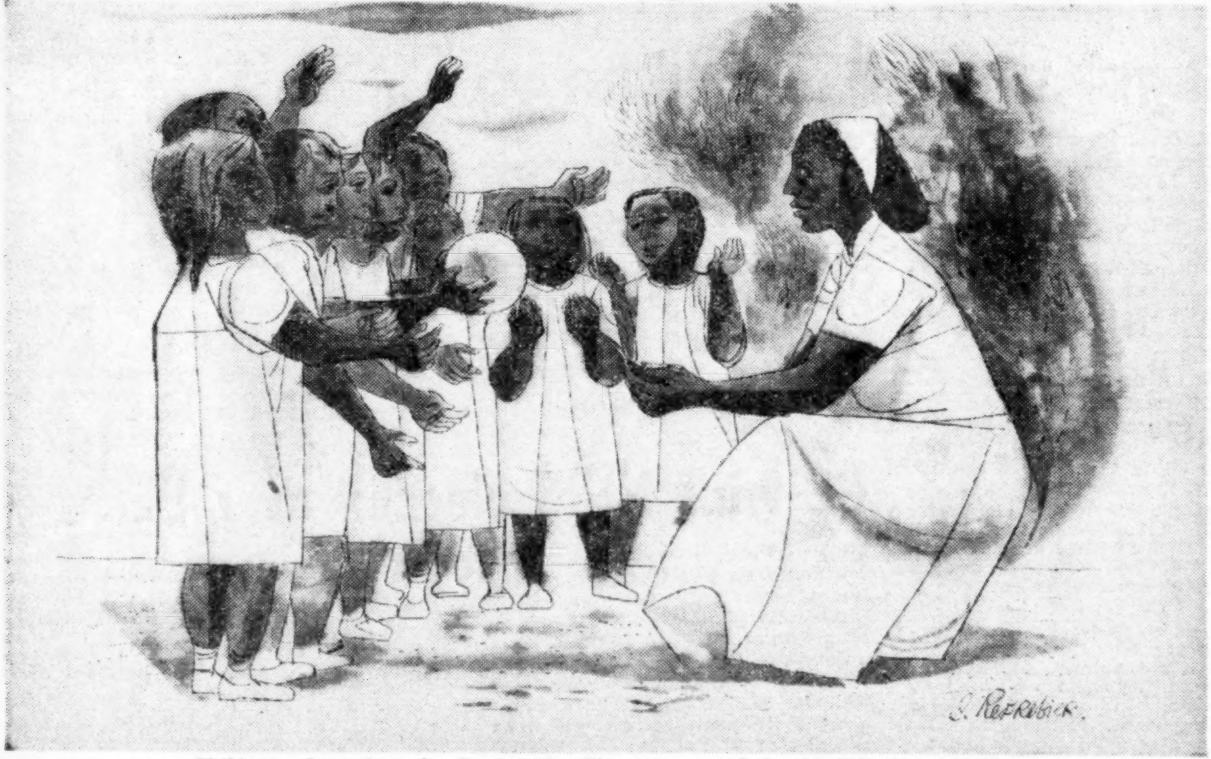
THE second (summer) issue of the Arts, Sciences & Professions writers' workshops quarterly **Venture** fortifies the impression of the first, that the standard being set will make it a distinction for creative writers (stories, poetry, reportage) to have work accepted by the magazine. Among much good, lean, pointed writing the novel-in-work excerpt ("Triomphe") and the three poems (especially "Tears for the Tree—on the death of 47 Puerto Ricans bound for New York by plane") by Earl Maxwell, are outstanding in the new **Venture.**

A slight tendency to overromanticize "the American worker" seems to appear in Joe Gross's story "The First Job" and the lively "workshop criticism" of a Willard Manus story "The White Fortress"; the story itself is not presented, so readers can only surmise whether fellow-workshoppers' rebukes of Manus for depicting a hamburger-heaven counterman without halo are excessively harsh. In all, a bumper 25c worth for those parched for brain-stimulation from creative writing. ($1 per year from **Venture**—ASP, 35 W. 64th St., N. Y. C. 23.)

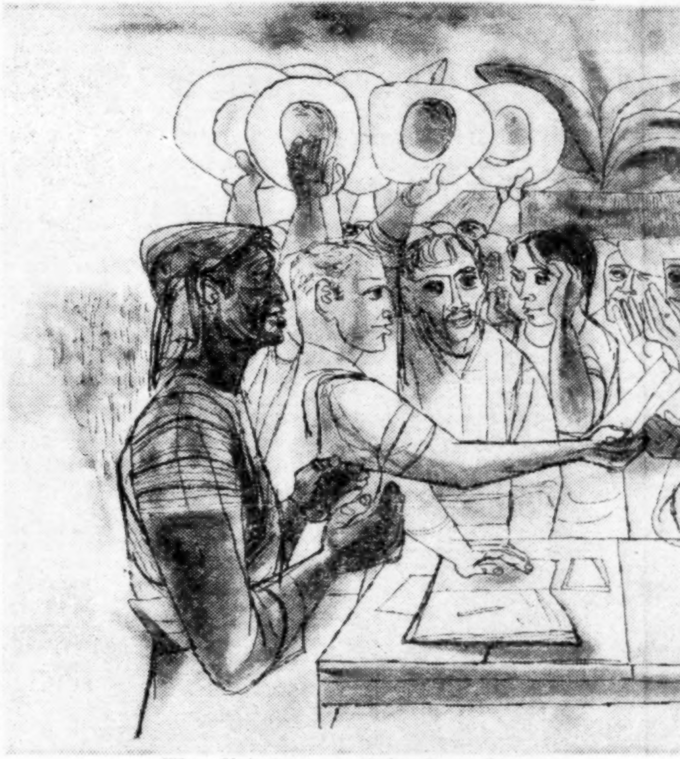
—C. B.

SMART SHOPPERS USE
GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

Anton Refregier looks at the Guatemalan peo



Children of workers in Guatemala City were cared for in this day nursery.



The distribution of land, a dress-up occasion

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

lican intentions to fight on the Nixon-Knowland line. (Nixon, sometimes known in Washington as "McCarthy in a white shirt," was recently described by N. Y.'s Rep. Emanuel Celler as "the Piltdown statesman.")

SETTING A PATTERN: The **N. Y. Times'** James Reston concluded that the "silly season" had descended on Washington: such threats, he said, "are seldom carried out." Perhaps not—but they serve a purpose, being designed to keep France and Britain in line and create such an atmosphere here as to make acceptance of a Far East settlement impossible. Furthermore, in the absence of any alternative policy or leadership in either major party, the Knowland-Nixon-McCarthy policy inevitably sets the pattern not only for the Administration but also for the Democratic "opposition." This Piltdown statesmanship tends to intensify what former Ambassador Kennan called

> ". . . the way in which many people in our country have been pressed relentlessly into states of mind where they can see no solution . . . except in the horrors of atomic war" (N. Y. **World Telegram,** 6/16).

Yet seldom since 1945 have conditions been so favorable for Americans to effect a real change in foreign policy. The results of the reversal of Roosevelt's peace policy are now undeniable: the U. S.'s isolation, deterioration of its world position, the constant threat of war inherent in its "cold war." The policy which produced all this, and the interests that forged the policy, have now taken a heavy setback in Indo-China, partly as a result of the people's

> ". . . invisible veto of war as a means of international settlement . .. . the silent disdain with which the American people responded to their war-mongering cheerleaders, both in politics and in the press" (Holmes Alexander, Phila. **Eve. Bulletin,** 6/17).

WINNIE'S AFTER-EFFECTS: Peaceful co-existence—the basic premise of the policy Roosevelt charted for the post-war world—remains the only logical alternative to Knowland's and Adm. Radford's military ardor. Yet no American leader has tried to challenge them by raising this standard again.

At this crucial moment, Churchill (who led the reversal of Roosevelt's policy in 1945 because he feared a Soviet-U.S. understanding would shrink Britain's imperial power, but now fears U. S. war policy even more), journeyed to the U. S. to give co-existence a mantle of respectability. "The intangible effect" of his plea (**Christian Science Monitor,** 6/29), "discussed, debated and carried over radio and television," is likely to be the most important result of his visit.

In these circumstances, admission of China to UN as the first step to peaceful co-existence can be achieved if Americans are determined enough. Roosevelt saw a strong and united China as the keystone of peace in Asia. China's achievement of unity and strength has irretrievably changed the world power structure, doomed Western imperialism on its borders, opened the door to peace. U. S. national interests demand recognition of this fact. For through its failure to accept the new power relationships, Washington has made all its major policy problems insoluble.

SHOWDOWN & CHOICE: Current British-W. European moves to come to terms with the new situation in Asia face Washington, sooner or later, with a choice between its China policy and its Western alliances. The showdown being demanded by the GOP's Knowland wing, the Luce-Hearst-Scripps-Howard press, etc., makes temporizing impossible, since the Knowland thesis will, if unchallenged, become official policy. At the same time, U. S. allies' determination not to follow Washington's suicidal policy on China continually grows stronger.

The crisis in the Western alliance may reach its peak at the UN General Assembly meeting next September. Success in again barring China from UN would increase U. S. isolation and enhance the power of the Piltdown statesmen, with all that implies for repressing rationality at home and spreading the illusions of those who find the only solution in atomic war. Even now the Strategic Air Command, whose role in the attack on atom-scientist Robert Oppenheimer has been exposed by the Alsop brothers (6/3 & 23), boasts that

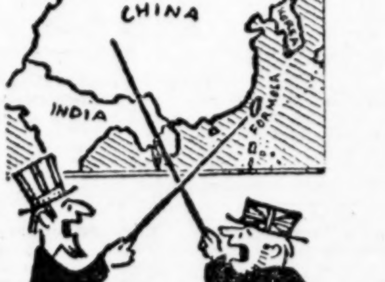
> ". . . it could go to war tomorrow morning without blinking an eye . . . could, if the signal were given, completely devastate Russia and have by far the majority of its crews return to tell the tale" (**Life** 6/14).

FRANTIC DR. ADENAUER: If recognition of China is the first necessary step to co-existence, unification and neutralization of Germany is the second. The unseemly pressure by Eisenhower and Churchill on the new French Premier Mendes-France to surrender French sovereignty by immediately ratifying the European Army (which both Britain and the U. S. refuse to join); Chancellor Adenauer's harsh warnings that France must ratify or face rebirth of German militarism; his frantic demands for W. German sovereignty—all these show how time is running out for Washington's policy in Germany. U. S. High Commissioner Conant has reportedly warned that Adenauer's government will fall this summer unless W. Germany gets sovereignty.

Under the threat of a powerful W. German movement for normalizing trade and diplomatic relations with the East, the U. S. and Britain are rushing to grant W. Germany sovereignty. But here France holds a veto, as it does over W. Germany's entrance into NATO; British-U. S. action without French consent could, as **NYT** pointed out (6/27), split the Western alliance.

BACK TO THE TRUTH: As it becomes clear that Washington's policy of re-arming a split Germany threatens either war or the ouster of U. S. influence from Europe, the truth of Roosevelt's conviction that—whatever the nature of the peace—Germany's war-making powers must be destroyed may again be understood.

Ten years ago these steps to peaceful co-existence were understood and accepted by millions of Americans and their elected leaders as necessary to U. S. national interests and to peace.



Union, Berlin

"When I say China, of course I mean China!"

A NEW CHAPTER OPENS IN GUA

The Colonels jockey for 'asylum' embassies jamn

By Kumar Goshal

ON May 1 President Arbenz Guzman had stood on the palace balcony in Guatemala City, watching proud and happy Guatemalans—who had tasted the fruits of economic, social and political reform—parading with placards saying: "Imperialist Yankees, go home." From the same balcony Col. Castillo Armas, leader of the forces that over-threw the elected government, referred 63 days later "to the works of the Arbenz regime as 'the farce that has been taking place here'" (**N. Y. Times,** 7/4). Next day, on July 4, heavily-guarded Col. Armas was entertained by U. S. Ambassador Peurifoy,

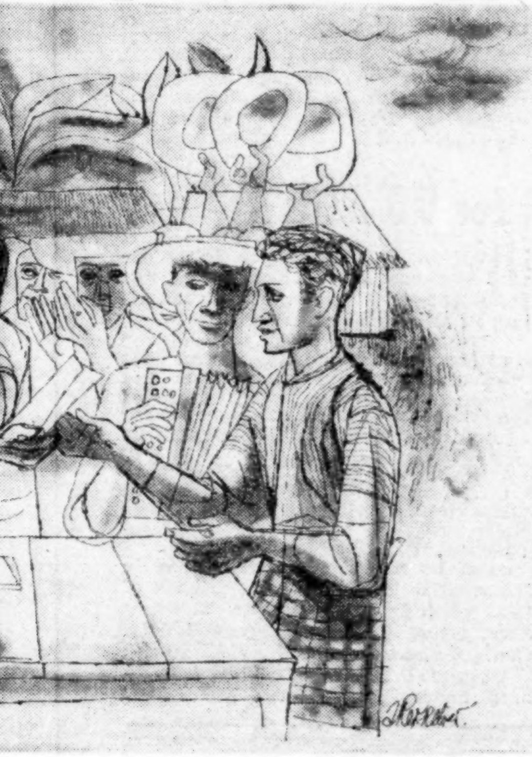
> ". . . who had accurately predicted the end of the Government of former President Arbenz before today's Independence celebration" (**AP,** 7/4).

AGONIZED JUNTA: The end of Guatemala's counter-revolution came July 2, after a series of talks between Armas and Col. Monzon of the Guatemalan Army in San Salvador under Peurifoy's and Papal Nuncio Gennaro Verolino's benevolent supervision. The talks produced a five-man military junta: Monzon and two Army aides, and Armas and one of his aides. It was to govern with Monzon as President for 15 days—until July 17, when the five members were to elect a permanent President; Armas was freely predicted for the job. After agreement was reached, Monzon and Armas,

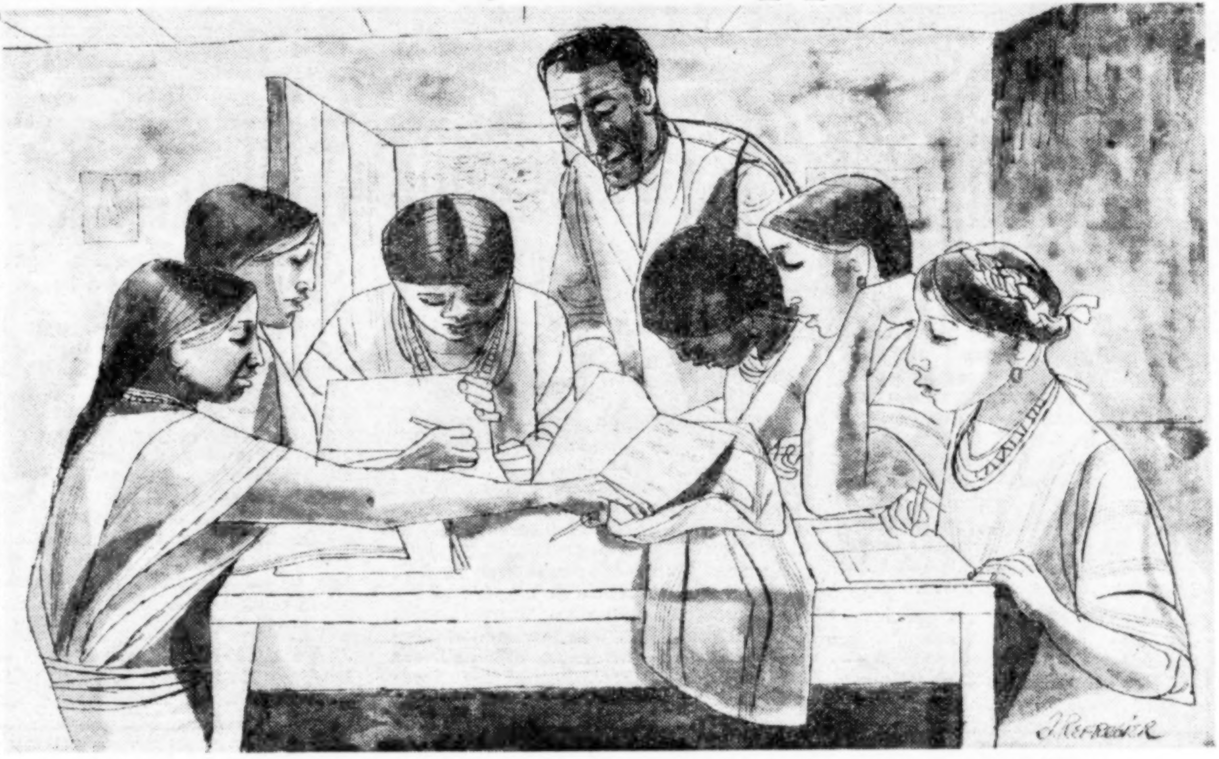
> ". . . unsmiling and in what seemed an agonizing personal tension, embraced while camera bulbs exploded. . . . [After making speeches] the two leaders embraced again, even with more difficulty" (**NYT,** 7/3).

The Army junta began swift mass arrests—including 2,000 alleged Communists—and planned concentration camps since there were "not enough jail facilities" (**NYT,** 7/6). Armas said the right of safe-conduct from the country would not apply to Arbenz and his Foreign Minister Toriello—who have taken shelter in the Mexican Embassy—and they would be tried as "war criminals." The junta "invited foreign investment capital" and disfranchised "illiterate" voters (said to be 73% of the population).

people's struggle for life, liberty & happiness



occasion with music and other festivities.



A group of Indian girls learning to read and write Spanish in the campaign against illiteracy.

N GUATEMALA

y for power; jails, jammed; people resist

WILL DULLES SLEEP? The "shaky and unsatisfactory truce" (**UP**, 7/2) had hardly ended the war. Armas had gained control of the Army, and "realists foresee power struggles ahead and still more turmoil" (**NYT**, 7/5). Popular uprisings were spreading to the degree that "Army and police headquarters in Guatemala City acknowledged [inability] to meet demands for help" against them (N. Y. **World-Telegram**, 7/2); "sharp clashes between small landowners who have received farms under the reform law and local military forces" were reported from sections where agrarian reform had been carried out.

Non-Communist UN members continued to be perturbed by the U. S. stand on Guatemala. British MP's asked heated questions on the identity of a plane that napalm-bombed a British ship in a Guatemala port. London's **New Statesman** said (7/3):

> ". . . the decade of reform in Guatemala [is] over. The way is now clear for the suppression of the trade unions (and probably the painful death of their Communist leaders), the repeal of all legislative nonsense about labor conditions and land settlement, and the restitution, in cash or in kind, of nationalized land-owning 'rights.' Mr. Dulles can sleep undisturbed by fears of the 'Communist threat' in C. America; the U. S. Ambassador in Guatemala, if he be so minded, can join his former colleague, Mr. Spruille Braden, on the Board of United Fruit."

The reports of popular uprisings did not indicate Dulles' sleep was destined to be undisturbed.

Refregier—the artist who responds to simple, honest, toiling people

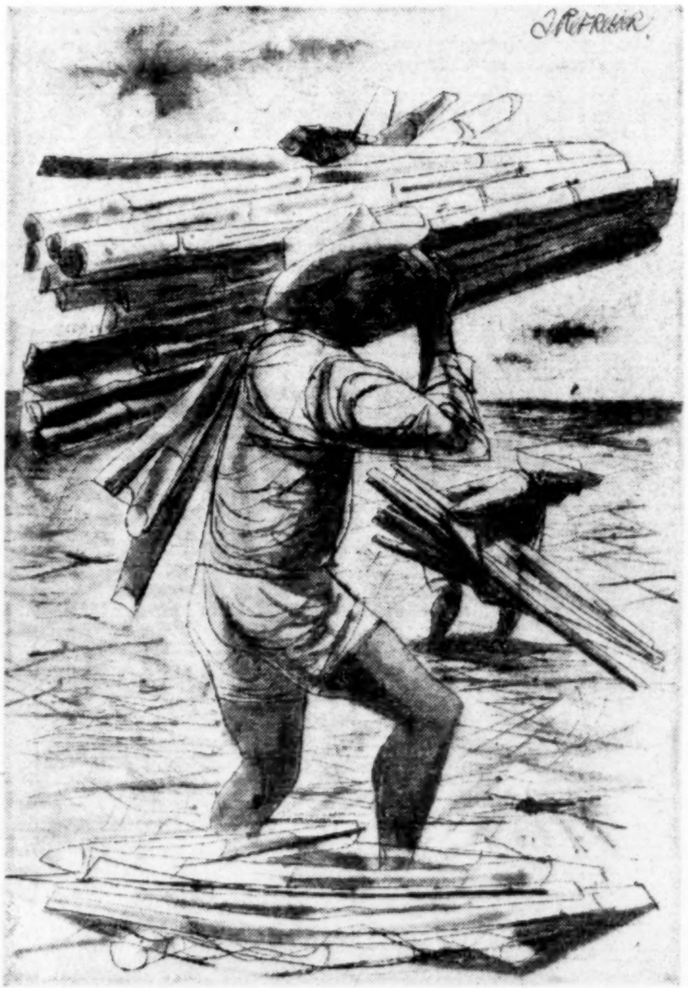
THOSE who know Anton Refregier's work will be gratified but not surprised that he has turned his artist's eye on pre-Peurifoy Guatemala. Here are some of the people of that dangerously democratic country whose radical desires for literacy, land and independence have been checked temporarily by the United Fruit putsch. In the famous Rincon Post Office murals in San Francisco, Refregier painted the history of California from the Spanish exploration to the founding of UN there. The pageant of peoples from aboriginal American Indians to today's dock workers is the revelation of his Rincon work as it is of his Guatemalan report.

In the epoch of the Big Lie, the truth cannot be countenanced: the American people's dangerously democratic tradition shown in the Rincon murals infuriated the Hearst press and our pithecanthropoid politicians into calls for their destruction (GUARDIAN, 9/19/49). But here was a "fine" artist who spoke intelligibly to and for the people, and was heard. His murals were successfully defended not only by fellow-artists and art-lovers around the world, but by organized labor on the West Coast. Like the struggle for other freedoms, this one may not be over yet, but the inspiring history of California is still on public view.

REFREGIER is a realist in the sense that he lives in today's world, responding to simple, honest people and distilling his responses into graphic statements. Through these we are reminded that all men are not atomaniacs. We get a refreshed vision of those who toil to keep the human race going in brotherhood, dignity and courage. Yet realism in the arts is not fundamentally a matter of style. Every art work requires our acceptance of symbols and some make-believe—in printed words, on canvas, on a stage. It follows that the true reality of art works must be realized in their effects upon people, not in merely imitating nature. To achieve such effects, to move people progressively and wisely through the arts, requires great skill and disciplined control of the medium. Refregier has this mastery of his pictorial medium as the versatile Paul Robeson has of song and theater.

The drawings shown here and on p. 1 will be exhibited with many others in a one-man show at New York's ACA Gallery next winter, and will also form part of a book on Guatemala which Refregier is preparing in collaboration with Asa Zatz.

—Robert Joyce



Workers on a sugar-cane plantation.

Editorial

(Continued from Page 1)

Yet behind all lowering stealing, lo, a shape,
Vague as the night, draped interminably, head, front, and form, in scarlet folds,
Whose face and eyes none may see,
Out of its robes only this, the red robes lifted by the arm,
One finger crook'd pointed high over the top, like the head of a snake appears.

Meanwhile corpses lie in new-made graves, bloody corpses of young men,
The rope of the gibbet hangs heavily, the bullets of princes are flying, the creatures of power laugh aloud,
And all these things bear fruits, and they are good.

Those corpses of young men,
Those martyrs that hang from the gibbets, those hearts pierced by the grey lead,
Cold and motionless as they seem live elsewhere with unslaughter'd vitality.

They live in other young men, O kings!
They live in brothers again ready to defy you,
They were purified by death, they were taught and exalted.

Not a grave of the murder'd for freedom but grows seed for freedom, in its turn to bear seed,
Which the winds carry afar and re-sow, and the rains and the snows nourish. . . .

Liberty, let others despair of you—I never despair of you.
Is the house shut? Is the master away?
Nevertheless, be ready, be not weary of watching,
He will soon return, his messengers come anon.

—THE EDITORS.

WRITE TODAY

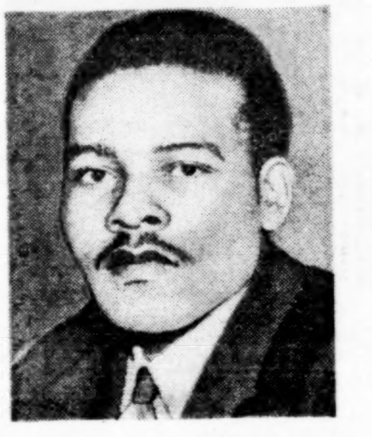
Mr. President:
Mr. Senator:
Mr. Congressman:

Encourage democracy in our hemisphere. Stop the blood-bath in Guatemala. Guarantee social and land reforms there; protect the Guatemalan farmer from the United Fruit Company and its armed agents. Let's start practicing what we preach.

Walter Lee Irvin, last victim in the Groveland blood purge—unless...

WALTER LEE IRVIN is the last living victim of Florida's "Groveland Scottsboro Case." Last week it looked as if he might be the last victim, period: the State Parole Board again refused to grant him clemency, despite an attorney's plea that if the 27-year-old Negro is executed "the Communists" will have another "talking point" on U.S. persecution of minorities. The death sentence has twice been upheld by Florida's Supreme Court; has failed to win U.S. Supreme Court review.

Behind the terror "trial" and conviction by an all-white male jury of Irvin, Charles Greenlee and Samuel Shepherd lay years of economic exploitation. Groveland is a wood-pulp manufacturing center for the paper industry. The mills are controlled by Northern capital. Negroes chop and process the pine saplings and do other menial jobs at wages below the 75c minimum set by Congress (loggers and sawmill workers are exempted). The four Negro youths rounded up by mobs for an alleged rape were reared in this atmosphere.



AN "UNUSUAL" NIGHT: A press release by the NAACP in Feb., 1952, quoted defense witness Lawrence Burtoft (white), who took the "raped" woman into town on the night of July 6, 1949, as saying she told him she had been "kidnaped" and kept in the woods all night but that she had said "absolutely nothing" about rape. State Atty. Jess Hunter asked whether it wasn't "unusual" for a white girl to spend the night with four Negroes; Burtoft said: "When I first saw her she was not excited and the only injury she had was a scar on her knee. She got that from a barbed wire fence." He said she told him she couldn't identify any of the men who "kidnaped" her.

Irvin on the stand in his own defense reiterated that he hadn't seen the woman or her husband the night he allegedly joined three others in attacking the couple. He repeated his earlier story that he and Shepherd had gone to a night club in Orlando.

STILL TIME TO ACT: Ernest Thompson, eldest of the four Negro youths, was killed on the night of the terror "while trying to escape." Greenlee, the youngest, was sent to the chaingang for life. Irvin and Shepherd were sentenced to death, but Shepherd was killed by the sheriff.

Gov. Charley Johns, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Fla., has not named the date of execution. Wires, letters and delegations from the people can still influence him.

Civil Rights leader jailed for 90 days

CIVIL Rights Congress exec. secy. William L. Patterson began July 1 serving a 90-day sentence for "contempt"—failure to turn over to the Bureau of Internal Revenue names of contributors to fighting funds for the Martinsville Seven, the Trenton Six, and Willie McGee, covering 1950, 1951 and 1952. Bureau agents had spent 20 days examining documents on which CRC income tax returns for those years are reckoned. Action was based on Patterson's sworn affidavit that he had no receipt books with names of contributors. All such data, he said, had been lost or mislaid more than a year ago, when CRC moved to 6 E. 17th St.

The order confining him, signed by Judge F. X. McGohey, provides for release from the Federal House of Detention, N.Y.C., at any time he "purges" himself within 90 days. McGohey denied the customary 10-day extension pending appeal. Before being committed, Patterson said:

> "Under no conditions would the CRC be a party to any action that would victimize innocent men and women. I call upon the friends of CRC, those who are aware of our efforts, to maintain the integrity of the Bill of Rights, the 14th and 15th Amendments, to rally behind CRC and defeat this attempt to end the activities of an organization through terrorizing its supporters."

Sam Barron, Patterson's associate temporarily in charge, said friends of CRC should wire or write Treasury Secy. George N. Humphrey and Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, Washington, D.C., and U.S. Atty. J. Edward Lumbard, Federal Court House, N.Y.C.

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The U.S. has been sending "give-away food packages," purchased with the tax payers' money to European countries in order to win them to "our way of life." This is a waste of the tax payers' money, as the peoples of foreign countries look with disgust upon the U.S. when they read that our warehouses are over-stocked with spoiling butter and meat, and that at the same time our aged and needy are shamefully ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clad.

O. Carroll

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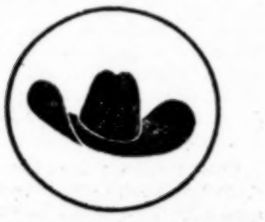
NEW YORK Marc announces he will run for Congress as independent in 18CD.

By John T. McManus

FORMER Rep. Vito Marcantonio, unseated in 1950 by a tri-partisan coalition after 14 years as a New York congressman, will seek re-election this year as an independent candidate. Although prevented by election law from circulating his nominating petitions before Aug. 16, he began his campaign last week with a series of street-corner meetings exposing the record of his successor, Rep. James G. Donovan. He urged 18th CD voters to abstain from party primaries and not to sign other nominating petitions until his independent petitions may be legally circulated in August.

Marcantonio resigned membership in the American Labor Party last November and early this year filed organization certificates for a Good Neighbor Party in N. Y. State. However, his 1954 candidacy will have no party designation on the ballot other than the word "Independent."

THE HAT: For a ballot emblem he intends to use the famous black hat of his mentor and predecessor as Congressman from East Harlem, the late Fiorello La Guardia, mayor of New York City 1933-45.



Marcantonio's announcement was made in a letter dated July 6 to 18th CD voters, exposing Rep. Donovan's record of votes against funds for schools and hospitals and absences on other vital issues. Pointing out that he is prevented by law from entering the primaries against Donovan, already designated for renomination by both Dem. and Rep. organizations, Marcantonio's letter continued:

"I am running for Congress as an independent on the basis of my record of 14 years in Congress and on the issues of the day. My record is my platform.

HIS FIGHT: "I have fought for world peace. This issue must be won or the world will be reduced to a heap of ashes.

"I have fought to guarantee the protection of the Bill of Rights of our Constitution for all people irrespective of race, color, creed or political affiliation. This issue must be won or the freedom of every American will be destroyed.

"I have fought for labor, housing, health, schools and to extend economic and social security to all the people of our country. This, too, must be won if our nation is to survive.

"I have at all times sought to help those in distress and need. I have made the people's problems my problems.

TO VOTERS: "You can vote for me without giving up your party affiliation as I am an independent candidate.

"Please note that as an independent I cannot, under the law, circulate my petitions until August 16. If you believe in sending me back to Congress, I advise you not to sign any other petitions that are now being circulated. Do not vote in the Primary Elections. If you do, then you cannot sign to put my name on the ballot.

VITO MARCANTONIO
The hat fits

"I appreciate your support and in return I shall continue to endeavor to resolve the crisis of peace, freedom and economic security in the interest of our country and our people."

ALP SUPPORT: Marcantonio's candidacy in 1954 is encouraged by open rifts in the Donovan coalition. Anti-Donovan sentiment among Republicans is widespread because of his Tammany ties and among Democrats for his Republican voting record. Among rank-and-file voters he is disliked for his failure to provide the district services which both La Guardia and Marcantonio made paramount. The Liberal Party has already refused to rejoin the Donovan coalition and in the Democratic Party a primary fight is shaping up between Donovan and Caspar H. Citron, with labor and liberal backing.

While the Marcantonio candidacy will appear only on a single "Independent" line on the ballot, it will have the enthusiastic support of ALP voters who elected him for several terms against both old party candidates. ALP has already announced it will run no candidate should Marcantonio seek re-election.

LYNCHING IN BROOKLYN

Puerto Rican Marine veteran beaten to death by drunks

AT 2 a.m. on Saturday, June 26, Gilberto Fernandez Castro, 21, was walking home in Brooklyn's Brownsville with his friend Raphael (Johnny) Adornes, 17. When they reached the corner of Amboy and Sutter Sts., they were met by Roland Finnegan, 20, and Joseph Milan, 23, who came out of a bar, drunk. They asked Castro and Adornes for money. Both out of a job, they replied they had only "about 6 cents" and three empty bottles.

Finnegan started calling them names, insulting them because they were Puerto Rican, challenged Castro to fight. Castro flared back, "You don't like Puerto Ricans, do you?" but refused to fight. Finnegan said: "Let's shake hands and forget it."

As Castro turned toward him, Finnegan struck him on the head with a beer bottle, knocking him out. Adornes rushed for help, borrowed a dime to call police. When he got back nearly half an hour later, the powerfully-built Finnegan was still beating the unconscious Castro with a wood and iron milk crate. The crate was falling apart.

Patrons of the bar came out and joined the lynching, threw their bottles at Castro as he lay dying on the sidewalk. At 7:15 that Saturday morning he was dead in Kings County Hospital.

SLEPT IN COAL BIN: The Brownsville neighborhood was shocked and grieved. Collecting the $700 needed to ship Castro's body back to his family in Puerto Rico was the last thing they could do for the young man, who had been a friend to the whole community in helping them with their housing and language problems through the Brownsville Tenants Council. But Castro's neighbors determined it should not happen again.

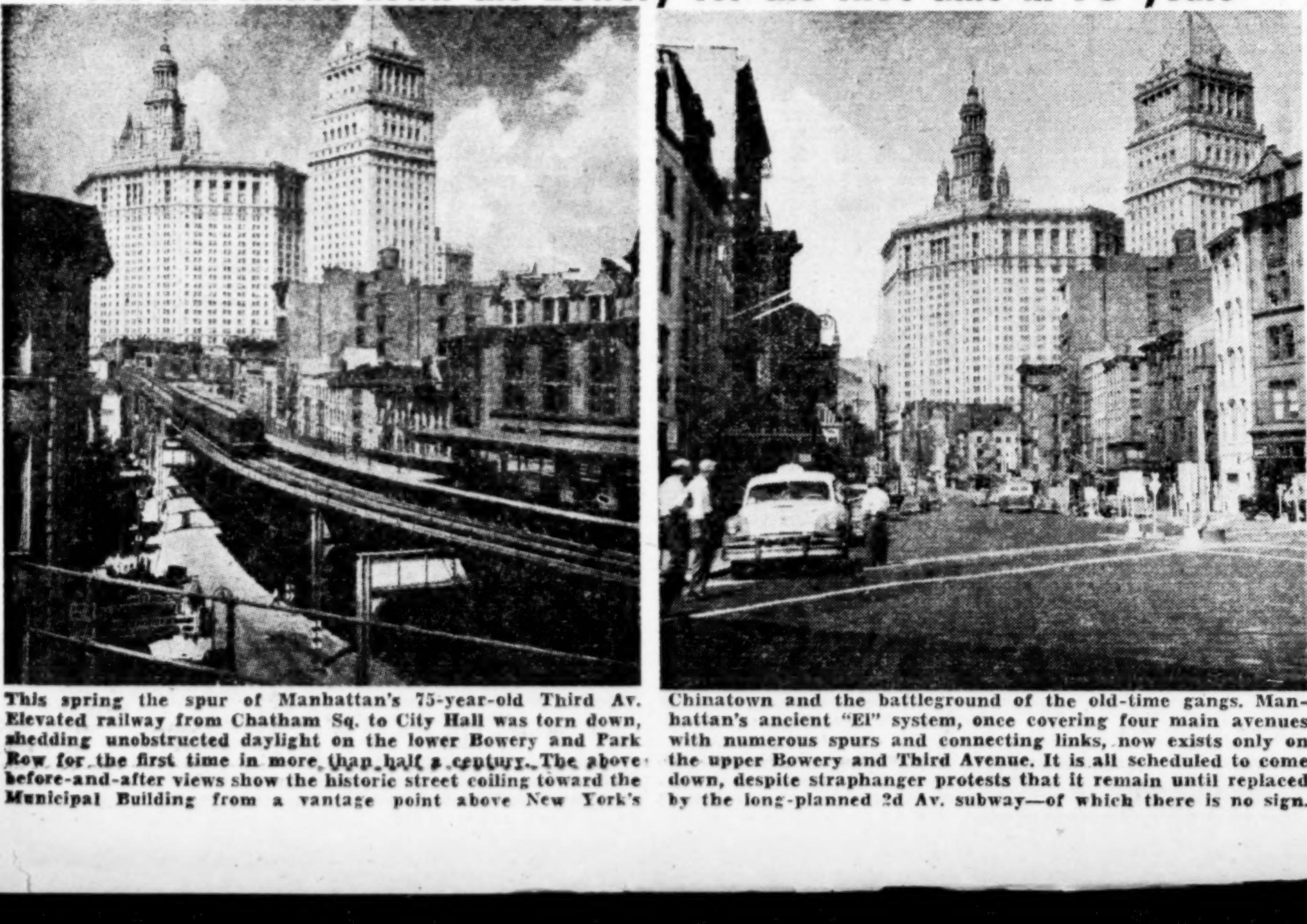
One of nine children of a small liquor-shop proprietor in Bajamon, P. R., Castro had begun college there, dropped out to enlist in the U.S. Marines in Puerto Rico. Discharged with a physical disability a few months after enlistment, he came to the U.S. a year and half ago again hoping to attend college. He worked as a "floor boy" in a N.Y. plastics plant until he was laid off a week before his death. Until the unemployment insurance came through, he and Adornes slept in a friend's coal bin.

HELD FOR HOMICIDE: A delegation of 20 neighbors and friends July 1 urged the Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs to press for a homicide conviction for Finnegan and Milan. "A conviction on this will discourage further acts of this type," a delegation spokesman said. Finnegan, 518 Saratoga Av., was a former member of the "Black Hats" gang which the police broke up two years ago; he was on parole for breaking into a neighborhood clothing store. He and Milan are being held on a homicide charge.

The delegation cited other examples of terrorism toward

(Continued on Page 11)

The sun shines down the Bowery for the first time in 75 years



This spring the spur of Manhattan's 75-year-old Third Av. Elevated railway from Chatham Sq. to City Hall was torn down, shedding unobstructed daylight on the lower Bowery and Park Row for the first time in more than half a century. The above before-and-after views show the historic street coiling toward the Municipal Building from a vantage point above New York's Chinatown and the battleground of the old-time gangs. Manhattan's ancient "El" system, once covering four main avenues with numerous spurs and connecting links, now exists only on the upper Bowery and Third Avenue. It is all scheduled to come down, despite straphanger protests that it remain until replaced by the long-planned 2d Av. subway—of which there is no sign.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

SUNDAY, JULY 11, 8:30 p.m. Phillip Bonosky discusses his splendid novel "Burning Valley" in one of a series of WEEKLY STARLIGHT FORUMS ON BOOKS AND AUTHORS at Penthouse, 10-A, 59 W. 71st St. Auspices: A. S. P.

CELEBRATE 10TH ANNIVERSARY
of the People's Republic of Poland.
Premiere—Color Film Showing
"**Adventure in Mariensztat**"
also Polish News & Color short
STANLEY THEATRE, nr. Times Sq.
Fri., July 23, 8 p.m. Adm. $1.

MAKE THIS A DATE. Tues., July 13, 8 p.m. Hear "Report from Guatemala," by Anton Refregier, noted artist, returned from Guatemala a few weeks ago! Also, analysis of Geneva Conference by Jesica Smith, editor, New World Review. Cornish Arms Hotel, 311 W. 23d St. Auspices: New York Peace Council.

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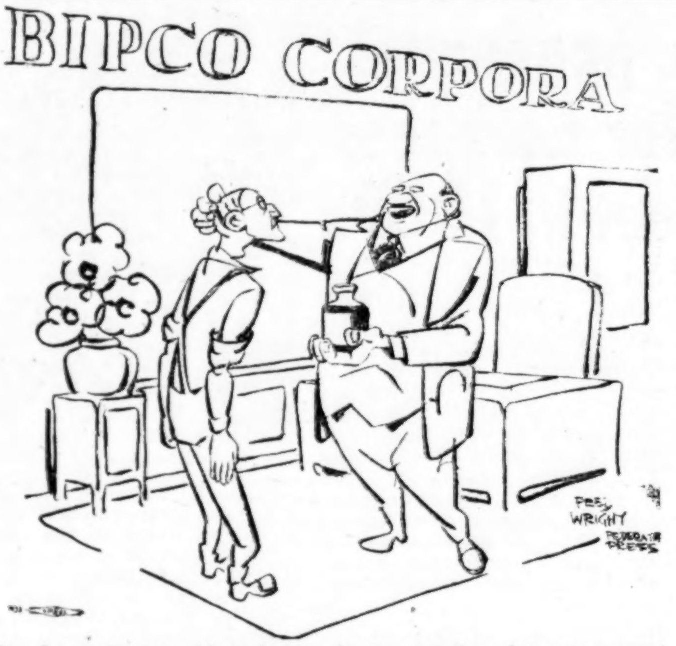

"You have grown old and gray in our employ—let me present you with this bottle of hair-dye."

Union fights Yonkers plant's 'Dixie runaway'

By Eugene Gordon

ALEXANDER SMITH Inc., among the world's largest rug and carpet manufacturers, announced June 24 it would close its Yonkers plant permanently. It had been closed temporarily since June 15. The 2,200 employes, on that date, struck, because the company—according to Local 122, Textile Workers Union (CIO)—insisted on (1) "revision of the wage structure, which would cut some earnings as much as $1 an hour, (2) a complete rewriting of our basic contract."

Those workers now are in a feverish petition campaign—though they seem almost despairing of success—to influence the company to keep its Yonkers plant. Other Smith plants are at Greenville, Miss., and Philadelphia.

YONKERS "TOO COSTLY": The original Alexander Smith, fresh from Scotland with a group of expert carpet weavers, set up the first mill on Nepperhan Creek in 1864. The plant has since spread over a total of 40 acres along both banks of the creek and has employed as many as 6,000. Newest of the grimy, dismal 3-to-5-story structures is at least 30 years old. Some of today's signature-seekers in the petition campaign are said to be descendants of the plant's first workers.

The company is moving its main operations, a spokesman told the **Wall St. Journal** (6/25), "because it became clear that the high cost of operation here, in the face of reduced carpet demand and the cumulative effect of continuing losses, make it impossible to continue producing carpets in Yonkers."

"SMALL NEW FACTORY": A N. Y. **Times** financial writer (7/4), while quoting "a company representative" as saying "the labor difficulties peceding its action" was the cause, declared: "Actually, in the last three years of operation the company has lost more than $8.6 million on the Yonkers operation. In 1953 alone the loss was $1.8 million."

TWUA in a ¾-page **Times** ad revealed that Smith was moving to its "small new factory built for the company by the town of Greenville, with the aid of a $3.5 million bond issue" and that it "proposes to operate with 400 workers . . . instead of 2,200—or, not long ago, 6,000." TWUA added: "Obviously it will produce less and sell less." According to the **Times** writer, the concern "has systematically been unloading the Westchester 'white elephant' for the last 18 months"; and land "and useless buildings in the sprawling, outdated, multi-storied plant have been gradually sold while more and more production has come out of the one-story plant in Greenville."

ON THE MISSISSIPPI: This non-union Mississippi plant, covering 15 acres, was built for the company at its own specifications by the little city. The plant can be expanded. Smith will repay Greenville over a 20-year period. The Philadelphia factory employs 200 TWUA members. Public relations director Richard Axton told the press June 25 that some of the 200-odd office and supervisory personnel—but none of the production workers—may be transferred from Yonkers to Greenville. Union and company representatives in a meeting July 6 discussed the question whether or not Local 122 members should do all work connected with liquidating the Yonkers plant. The union contends that they should.

Alexander Smith Inc. will continue its executive offices at 525 N. Broadway, White Plains, N. Y., and its principal salesroom at 295 Fifth Av., N. Y. C.

• *Effects in Yonkers of Smith's "runaway" South will be told in forthcoming issue.*

Polish film evening

AN evening of Polish culture at 8:15 p.m. July 22 at the Stanley Theater, 7th Av. and 42d St., will celebrate the tenth anniversary of Poland's liberation and formation of the People's Republic there. The Polish film **Adventure in Mariensztat** and color shorts of Polish songs and dances will be shown. Guest speaker will be Stanley Nowak, former Michigan State Senator.

Citrus organizers seek aid in North

THE Florida citrus industry is Big Business but its 100,000 employes, many of them migratory workers, are among the lowest-paid and worst-treated in the land. Since 1933 they have been organized or partially-organized several times, but never lastingly. Even with partial or temporary organization, they made many gains—which they lost in the periods when there was no organization at all. This year they are determined to have a union of their own and are planning an organization drive through the summer to be ready when the picking season begins in October.

At the head of a new independent union called the United Citrus, Fruit & Vegetable Workers of America is Otis G. Nation. As a former national vice-pres. of the one-time CIO Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union, he is an old and solid hand at tough organizing jobs.

KOGER IN N. Y.: Backing the Florida drive and organizing support for it is Harry Koger, formerly of San Antonio but now of Houston, Tex. Koger, staunch booster of the GUARDIAN since its founding issue, is a long-time veteran of the agricultural workers.

On a quick trip north to line up contacts, friends and backers, Koger will be in New York July 16-22. He will be in the Cleveland-Akron-Detroit area July 23-25, in Chicago July 26-28. (He can be reached c/o the GUARDIAN.)

Contributions for the Florida organizing campaign can be sent direct to Otis Nation, 1502 Boone Pl., Lakeland, Fla.

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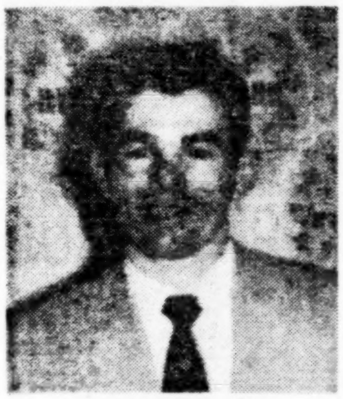
Vet lynched

(Continued from Page 9)

Puerto Ricans in Brownsville. From roof-tops or open windows, hoodlums throw "cherry bombs" at passing Puerto Rican residents or through their windows. (A cherry bomb is like a powerful fire-cracker, shaped like a large cherry. According to the delegation, they can be bought in local stores.)

POLICE RECORD: The delegation of 15 Negro, Jewish and Puerto Rican neighbors also visited Brownsville Rabbi Alter Landesman, who promised to call a conference of Jewish leaders to discuss means of ending tensions. Landesman, said a delegation spokesman, favored more police protection, but many in the community doubted that was the answer. They cited the bad example the police themselves had set.



GILBERTO CASTRO
Killed for six cents

(In May, 1951, Negro laborer Henry Fields was killed on the street in an unprovoked shooting by patrolman Sam Applebaum, described by his associates as "trigger-happy." Despite tremendous community protest, two white juries refused to indict Applebaum for manslaughter, and he was later returned to the Brownsville precinct.)

Adornes, Castro's companion, told the Mayor's Committee that when he phoned the police, they had asked him whether he was Puerto Rican. They took two hours to arrive.

A memorial meeting for Castro will be held July 22 at Sunrise Manor, 1639 Pitkin Av. (corner of Bristol).

More Puerto Rican registrations, Assemblymen, judgeships sought

POLITICAL representation as the key to solving the problems of New York's Puerto Rican people was the theme of a Spanish-language "Legislative Conference for Representation and Democratic Rights" on June 26. At Grace Methodist Church 75 delegates from churches, trade unions, civic and cultural organizations and political parties met to discuss the groundwork for a campaign for more Puerto Rican representation in national, state, and local government.

At least 200,000 Puerto Rican voters are possible now, the conference learned, but only 35,000 Spanish-speaking voters are enrolled. The conference urged a block-by-block campaign for more registrants. Conference chairman Gil Gerena said:

"If 10% of the registrants in a district are Puerto Rican, this 10% is the balance for the election or defeat of any candidate who does not subscribe to a minimum program for the Puerto Rican people's specific needs."

CONCENTRATIONS: Singled out for the election of a Puerto Rican Assemblyman were Manhattan's 13th and 14th AD's, and the third district in Brooklyn. The conference also asked Puerto Rican candidates for judges in Magistrates and Municipal Courts. In the Bronx fifth distrist Felipe N. Torres, the only present Puerto Rican Assemblyman, will again be a candidate. Gregorio Domenech, who was anti-machine GOP-coalition candidate for Assembly in the 14th AD, said he would be a candidate again if there were no other Puerto Rican running there.

Gerrymandering planned to divide national groups, and the English literary test, were cited as main reasons for the present lack of representation.

PROBLEMS AND NEEDS: Said Domenech: "Our many, many problems have a political solution." Problems raised by the conference included scarce housing and high rents; inadequate education for Spanish-speaking children through placing them in special language groups; the tendency for schools to route Puerto Rican children into vocational high schools (Puerto Rican students are 8% of the primary and junior high school enrollment, but only 1% of high school enrollment; half of the latter attend vocational highs); FEPC and more unemployment benefits; more well-baby clinics and home visits.

The conference urged more Spanish-speaking personnel in all hospitals, social services and housing departments, and that Puerto Rican teachers should be employed to teach non-Puerto Rican children too.

STOP THE VENOM: Protesting exaggeration in the press about the juvenile delinquency rate among Puerto Rican people, speakers asked more youth centers, control of pornographic material and that which encourages racism in TV, films, comics. Chairman Gerena exhibited a copy of the comic book **Shock** which referred to Puerto Rican people as "spics." The "comic's" plot concerned a man whose daughter wanted to marry a Puerto Rican. The man was so enraged that he went out to shoot the young man and shot his daughter instead.

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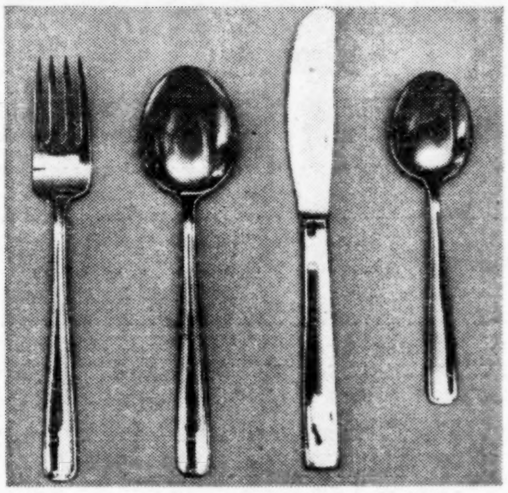

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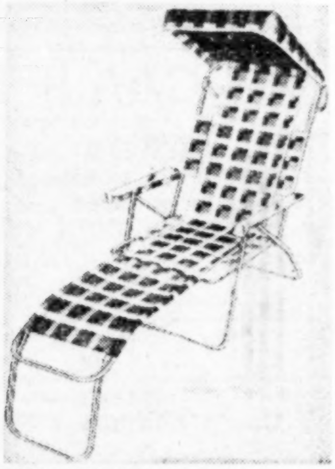

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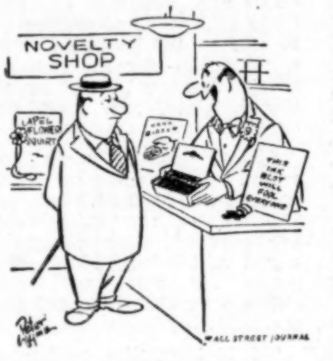
The magazine buyer is captured and held hostage by the publication which is wrangling for advertising contracts all year round. The victim may be lured by first-rate photography or third-rate fiction, by cheesecake or confessions, by how-to-hold-your-husband-after-40 advice or you-can-make-your-hobby-pay-off routines. Editors may even win him with stories and articles of real merit. Primarily, however, every printed item must be consistent with the policy of keeping the reader in an acquisitive frame of mind. What the customer reads helps determine what he will buy.

One-third of the nation simply does not exist for the magazine publishers. The other two-thirds is acreage cultivated to yield cash and installment buying.



"Recent medical reports show that this brand of exploding cigars cause less powder burns than any other."

SUPERIOR FUN: In the newspapers the magazines speak sweet and mellow. The **Saturday Evening Post** swears it "gets to the heart of America." **McCall's** appeals to the entire family with such fervor, you'd think they were selling a hymnal. **Life,** in light July clothing, airily announces it is presenting "a feature typical of the superior kind of fun that has helped make **Life** the most popular magazine in the country." (Some fun, those political editorials.) But, in the direct pitch to the hucksters **Life,** with its claim of reaching 26,450,000 persons every week, lays it on the line:

> "If your product is a major purchase for a family, you are more interested in people with better incomes. Each issue of **Life** includes . . . 1 out every 4 in the U. S. with incomes over $3,000."

Better Homes and Gardens goes cute, telling us that "**B H & G** families are buy-ologically inclined to buy locally." Each magazine gravely offers the advertisers statistical breakdowns of its readers. The job Kinsey has done on American sex life, organizations like Alfred Polit Research Inc. do on the dollar-squeeze fate to be expected of a particular group of captives. Fawcett's Women's Group (featuring **True Confessions,** 1½ million circulation) purrs:

> "If you have a product that will help these 3,100,000 young women to be better looking, better dressed—they'll buy it."

DEODORIZED LIMBS: Naturally, endless stories about and illustrations of smiling long-limbed girls on the beach, being embraced by yet longer-limbed youths, soften up Fawcett readers for sun-tan oil, bathing suits, deodorants, dental cream, hair rinse, soft drinks, cigarettes, bras, engagement rings, wedding presents, babies and house furnishings.

Elizabeth Hawes pointed out in her book **Anything But Love** that women's magazines go on the assumption that the only women who really matter are those in the 18 to 35 age bracket. This is the period when they can be prodded into filling a home with so much that they can so little afford. But all the ammunition is not aimed at women. **True** (a he-man publication, 1,750,000 circulation guaranteed), presents this picture of its following to impress the advertisers:

> "86.4% own one or more cars. . . . **True** readers consume 10 million gallons of liquor a year."

Even the American Legion's house organ **Legion** offers up the membership for exploitation: to its 2,700,000 readers

> ". . . it is the one mutual bond that motivates this influential crosscut of America today. They enjoy its real masculine flavor and welcome it as a reliable source of editorial and buying information."

KIDDED KIDDIES: You'd think the children might be spared, but in this battle for business **Boys' Life** (the Boy Scout magazine) fights for the scraps: "One out of every two boys in America joins the Boy Scouts. Advertisers in **Boy's Life** reach 50% of America's young men before they filter out into the costly, male market." And placing his paw expectantly on junior's piggy bank, the huckster gurgles: "Among boys 8 to 18, (average age 14)—81% earn money outside school."

Perhaps it's a sign of desperation to look for money in the cookie jar. The competition from radio and television is murderous, where every day millions of kids are taught to bludgeon their parents into buying them some devitalized food or drink. Yet in spite of these crude bids for trade, the magazines remain scientific and refined. **Time** said last week in its **N. Y. Times** ad that it

> ". . . combines a dramatist's flair with a scholar's care."

We say this week:

> "Don't believe the rumor; you're just a consumer."